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Equal Rights

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Sophie G. Meredith

Feminist Leader, Whose Death on August 27 Is Mourned by Women.

Equal Rights



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OBJECT OF THE WOMAN'S PARTY

The object of this organization shall be to secure for women complete equality with men under the law and in all human relationships.

THE LUCRETIA MOTT AMENDMENT

"Men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction."

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

[Senate Joint Resolution Number 64.]

Introduced in the Senate, January 4, 1928,

by SENATOR CHARLES E. CURTIS, Kansas.

Introduced in the House, May 18, 1928,

by REPRESENTATIVE FREDERICK W. MAGRADY, Pennsylvania.

Equal Rights a Campaign Issue

FOR the first time since the reorganization of the National Woman's Party in 1921 when it undertook as its program the completion of the long struggle for Equal Rights between men and women, there is an opportunity to take advantage of the national election to bring this issue to the front.

To make a measure an issue in the national campaign brings it to the immediate attention of the nation and creates widespread interest and discussion. How best to take advantage of this immediate campaign to advance Equal Rights was the problem which confronted the conference of the National Woman's Party in Washington this past week.

The fact that the Democratic Presidential nominee, Governor Smith, has not only opposed Equal Rights for women in industry but, as Governor of New York, has actively sponsored measures which handicap women in earning their livelihood made it clear immediately that women who put Equal Rights first must oppose his election. Then came the question: Whom among the candidates could the National Woman's Party support?

The only nominee for President who stands unqualifiedly for the Equal Rights Amendment is Mr. Varney, the candidate of the Prohibition Party. But Mr. Varney is not running in many States, and, among the States in which he is not running, is New York. This makes it impossible to campaign for him in a nation-wide election. The Socialist candidate, Norman Thomas, was eliminated because of his opposition to equality for women. This left the Republican nominees.

The Vice-Presidential nominee on the Republican ticket, Senator Curtis, introduced the Equal Rights Amendment for the Woman's Party and has not only always been a firm believer in equality for women but has done everything he could to advance their position. He is 100 per cent. for equality. His running mate, Mr. Hoover, while he supports the principle of Equal Rights, is not yet sure of the amendment as a means of obtaining it. Under the system of voting for Presidential electors, instead of voting directly for the candidates themselves, it is not possible to split the ticket and vote for the Vice-President only. This left only the choice of supporting Mr. Hoover with Senator Curtis or of not going into the campaign in any way that might affect the election results, the best way to interest the voters in the issue.

In very earnest and thoughtful discussion at the conference, it was clearly brought out that the only hope of furthering the cause of Equal Rights in the coming election was in supporting the Republican nominees. The division of opinion in the four-to-one vote by which the resolution was carried was not on the ground of supporting any other candidates, but was based on whether the Woman's Party should support Senator Curtis and Mr. Hoover or not take part in the election. Though in the beginning there seemed some question as to just what was the best thing to do, as the discussion brought out facts, the situation cleared and there seemed but one thing to do.

AND now once more, the Woman's Party is on the march in a national campaign. Once more it calls to its banners all those who want to make this a better world for women. Many of us have other ties which are hard to break. But this is the first time since the passage of the suffrage amendment that women have the chance to use their votes nationally in a way that will help women. We ask you all to join with us in this campaign.

A Brilliant and Significant Success

ANOTHER highly important step has been taken toward the use of international action to establish Equal Rights between men and women. Because Doris Stevens and other international Feminists were in Geneva to call the attention of the League of Nations to the need for women in the conference which will attempt to codify international law, women will be included as plenipotentiaries of nations.

The question of the nationality of married women is to come before the World Conference on the Codification of International Law. Women all over the world suffer inequalities in nationality laws. The Hague Conference will no doubt recommend to nations a uniform nationality code. Had not the Women's Committee on International Action, organized by the National Woman's Party with the co-operation of Feminists of other countries, demanded it, it is highly probable that no women would have sat among the jurists who will frame that international code so important to women.

The brilliant work of Doris Stevens in Havana and in Geneva will mean much to women all over the world.

Woman's Party Enters Presidential Campaign

CONVINCED that no other candidates give any hope of advancing the movement for Equal Rights between men and women, the conference of national and State officers, Founders, and Life Members of the National Woman's Party, held at National Headquarters on September 12, adopted a resolution to support Herbert Hoover and Charles Curtis for President and Vice-President of the United States.

After a thorough discussion of the platform of the various parties and the stands of the several candidates for President, the following resolution, proposed by Maud Younger, was adopted by the conference:

"The conference of national and State officers and Founders and Life Members of the Woman's Party resolves to support the Republican candidates for President and Vice-President for the reason that of all the candidates before the country, these are the only ones whose election offers any hope to the movement for Equal Rights between men and women.

"The Republican Vice-Presidential nominee, Senator Curtis, introduced the national Equal Rights Amendment in Congress and stands unqualifiedly for complete Equal Rights between men and women.

"While the Republican Presidential candidate unfortunately has not as yet gone as far as his colleague with regard to the Equal Rights Amendment, he has agreed to support the principle of equality between men and women. His position on this subject is in advance of that of all the other Presidential candidates with the exception of the Prohibition nominee who, while unqualifiedly for the amendment, is campaigning in only a very few and non-controversial States.

"It is not possible to support the Democratic Presidential nominee because he opposes Equal Rights for women in industry and has had a long record, during his career as Governor, of opposition to equal industrial opportunity for women and of actively sponsoring laws which handicap women in earning their livelihood."

The statement in which Mr. Hoover declared his agreement in principle was made to a large deputation of the National Woman's Party which presented to him the arguments for the Equal Rights Amendment in the morning preceding the conference. After listening to the presentation of the need for the amendment, Mr. Hoover said:

"I think you will agree with me that any plea based on equality of opportunity

and the removal of restrictions from any group would have a great appeal for me. I have long regarded that as an ideal of American life. I have the utmost sympathy for your problems. It has not been my habit, however, to rush into determinations of public questions. I would go to any extent to remove restrictions on equality of opportunity, and I have asked some of my friends qualified to penetrate the mazes of this problem to make a thorough investigation to determine what the effect of this amendment would be.

"There are on the statute books of all States much legislation designed primarily for the benefit of women and children. I hesitate to say without a thorough and exhaustive study that all of these statutes should be brushed aside with one sweep of the hand.

"I want to be honest with you. I agree with you in principle, but I do not know anything more serious for any public man than to pledge himself to a change of the constitution. I am not going to pledge myself until I have exhausted my information on that subject. If I find to my satisfaction that this amendment is necessary to obtain equality of opportunity I will be with you.

"I could not be more frank with you and I hope you will receive this in the spirit in which it is given."

THE deputation which had an audience with Mr. Hoover the morning before the conference included women from fifteen States. Members of the delegation met at the home of Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, and in cars bearing purple, white, and gold banners, drove to Mr. Hoover's headquarters on Massachusetts Avenue.

Led by Gail Laughlin, member of the Maine Legislature and vice-chairman of the National Woman's Party, the delegation asked assurance from the nominee that, if elected President of the United States, he would do everything in his power to remove all existing discriminations against women.

Maud Younger of California, Congressional chairman of the Woman's Party, spoke first. She said to Mr. Hoover:

"We come to ask your support of equality in the law as between men and women and of the Equal Rights Amendment as a means of securing it. This amendment is in harmony with your speech of acceptance, for without Equal Rights, there cannot be equal opportunity, and in your very earnest desire for equal opportunity for every American citizen, we cannot but believe that you meant to include women.

"Shortly after your acceptance, one of our members glancing over a newsstand caught the headlines in a paper, 'Hoover Pledges Equality.' With great enthusi-

asm, she bought the paper, only to find that it was a Negro publication and equality was for the Negroes.

"I would like to point out that all the love of equality and liberty, all the resentment against injustice which is felt when that injustice is based on color or religion or race, is felt just as keenly by women when that injustice is based on sex."

Florence Bayard Hilles of Delaware, vice-chairman of the Woman's Party, whose father, Thomas F. Bayard, was first Ambassador from the United States to Great Britain, said:

"Having a tradition of a long line of ancestors who each, in his day, has worked according to his conscience in behalf of a constructive free government for our country, I would be false to my inheritance if I did not at this time throw my sympathies and activities in behalf of the struggle for women who have recently won their enfranchisement, are now working for the logical sequence to that status, the removal of the last discriminations which were made in our law. I approach this subject as one of a group of women who deeply feel that the work in behalf of the ultimate and full freedom of women is only a clear-cut duty and an inspiration."

Miss Laughlin said:

"Most of the discriminations against women are an inheritance from bygone ages. In addition to these survivals of medieval prejudice and injustice there are in nearly every State laws passed in recent years which restrict the economic freedom of women and which place restrictions upon women in business and in industry which do not apply to their male competitors. These restrictions are a handicap to women and relegate them to jobs so undesirable and poorly paid that men do not want them. Women must guard against the imposition of further restrictions. Their only security is an amendment to the Federal Constitution which will wipe out the discriminations against women."

Representing industrial women, who perhaps feel the need for equality under the law more keenly and more seriously than any other group, Mary A. Murray, ticket agent on the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit subway line in New York, and chairman of the Industrial Council of the National Woman's Party, said:

"I appear before you this morning as a representative of wage-earning women who are opposed to all of the so-called 'protective' laws for women only.

"I was left a widow with five little children, the oldest only seven years old. I was forced to work to support, clothe, and educate them. I worked thirteen years at night, as I wished to be at home with my children during their waking

hours. When the no-night-work law for women went into effect in New York, I was one of thousands of women thrown out of work.

"We women went to Albany and after a hard struggle and sacrifice of thousands of dollars, we won an exemption from the same legislators and signed by the same Governor who had passed the law the year previous.

"But Mr. Hoover, we were not the only women affected by these laws. The women of the printing trades and the licensed pharmacists have also been fortunate in winning exemption, but women working in candy and drug stores, in restaurants and on elevators, and also in factories, are at the present time pleading for an equal opportunity with men to earn their living.

"We working women know that the best way to get this equal opportunity to earn a living is through an Equal Rights Amendment.

"We ask you, Mr. Hoover, to help us."

Mr. Hoover then made his statement, already quoted in full, and made upon the delegation an impression of earnestness, honesty, and sincerity.

Following the deputation, a luncheon was held at National Headquarters, and the conference was opened in the afternoon with Jane Norman Smith, national chairman, presiding.

MRS. SMITH placed before the conference the declarations with regard to women in the Republican and the Democratic platforms, and the statements of the position of the Presidential nominees on Equal Rights. She also reported the efforts that had been made to win the support of the candidates for the Equal Rights Amendment. Mrs. Smith told of her interview with Norman Thomas, the Socialist nominee for President, and reported that he definitely opposes the Equal Rights Amendment. She then read the signed statement of the Prohibition nominee, W. F. Varney, endorsing the Equal Rights Amendment. This was heartily cheered by the conference, which then expressed regret that Mr. Varney will be on the ballot in only a few States. His campaign will not be nation-wide.

Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York, the Democratic nominee, has always stood for legislation restricting women in industry, and has reiterated his position on this question since his nomination, it was reported. His statements on this issue were read from his response to a letter from the National Woman's Party asking his stand on Equal Rights.

Mr. Hoover's statement to the deputation was read.

Then the unexcelled stand of the Republican nominee for Vice-President, Senator Charles Curtis of Kansas, was mentioned, again to applause. Senator Curtis has throughout his public career been one of

the staunchest, most unwavering, and most effective workers for Equal Rights between men and women in every field.

The meeting was then thrown open to informal discussion, with the question of how best to advance the Equal Rights movement in this Presidential campaign always uppermost.

The question of the non-partizanship of the Woman's Party was brought up, and explained as follows by one of the speakers:

"We are organized to work for Equal Rights by any means we find effective and expedient. If that involves our workings for or against any candidate of any party for any office, we can, and do, take definite stands with or against such candidates, regardless of the political parties they represent."

It was pointed out that the Woman's Party has always made Equal Rights the paramount issue, and the only criterion by which other parties or their candidates are judged. During the suffrage campaign, the Woman's Party campaigned against the Democratic Party because it had blocked the Federal Suffrage Amendment. In 1920 it picketed the Republican Convention, and in 1924 it campaigned for several women candidates for Congress, who, though members of four different political parties, supported the Equal Rights Amendment. In each election the test of support was always what would best further Equal Rights.

Several members of the conference advanced the argument that, since no candidate seriously contending for the Presidency had definitely pledged himself to support the Equal Rights Amendment, the Woman's Party should take no stand in this campaign.

It was agreed, however, that it was necessary to make the Equal Rights Amendment an election issue. It was then pointed out that the Democratic candidate is definitely opposed to the Equal Rights Amendment on account of his opposition to industrial equality, as clearly shown by his record as legislator and Governor, and in statements of his position made since he was nominated for President.

Convinced that every effort should be made to prevent the election of a President who is unalterably opposed to Equal Rights in the industrial field, the conference then sought the most effective way of opposing him, and of making Equal Rights an issue in this campaign.

Taking into consideration the fact that the Republican nominee for Vice-President is the most outstanding advocate of Equal Rights among public men, and the fact that the Republican nominee for President has expressed himself as agreeing in principle with the Woman's Party's demand for Equal Rights between men and women, and for the removal of restrictions upon equal opportunity, it was

finally determined that the best way to advance the cause of Equal Rights in this campaign would be to support the Republican nominees for President and Vice-President.

When the vote was then taken most of those who had previously opposed taking a stand in favor of any candidate not pledged specifically to support the Equal Rights Amendment had been convinced by the discussion that, in view of the unexcelled stand of the Republican Vice-Presidential nominee, the agreement in principle of the Republican Presidential nominee, and the definite opposition of the Democratic nominee, the only way to advance the cause of Equal Rights was to work for the Republican ticket.

AMONG those who participated in the deputation to Mr. Hoover were:

Jane Norman Smith of New York City, chairman of the National Council of the Woman's Party; Maud Younger of San Francisco, chairman of Congressional Committee; Gail Laughlin of Portland, Maine, Florence Bayard Hilles of Wilmington, Delaware, and Anita Pollitzer of Charleston, South Carolina, national vice-chairmen; Mrs. Richard Wainwright of Washington, D. C., national secretary; Mabel Vernon of Wilmington, Delaware, national executive secretary; Emma Wold of Portland, Oregon, treasurer;

Burnita Shelton Matthews of Mississippi, Dora G. Ogle of Maryland, Mrs. Stephen H. P. Pell of New York, and Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley of Washington, members of National Council;

Minnie S. Karr of Newark, treasurer of the New Jersey Branch of the Woman's Party; Mrs. George T. Vickers of Jersey City, New Jersey; Mary Brown of Wilmington, Delaware; Mrs. Joseph Dixon, Mrs. Zilla M. Sanford, and Mrs. Jack Selig of New York City; Clara Gonzalez of Panama; Carrie Harrison of Iowa; Mrs. Gregory, Mrs. Hobbs, and Sara Hobbs of Gainesville, Georgia; Irene L. McCoy of Syracuse, New York; F. Isabella Proctor Miller of Massachusetts; Mrs. Legare Obear of Georgia; Dr. Minerva Blair Pontius of Indiana;

Mrs. C. L. Blackburn, Rebecca L. Blaine, Virginia Blunt, Mrs. Wymond Bradbury, Sheldon Jackson, Harriet H. King, Pearl Bellman Klein, Addie Lyons, Madeline McCandless, Mrs. Hugh Ambrose Murray, and Mabel Van Dyke, all of Washington, D. C.;

Elizabeth Byers, Mrs. Herman Gasch, Mrs. George Pflaster, Gertrude James Robey, and Mrs. F. C. Roe, all of Virginia;

Mrs. G. H. DePue of California; Grace Miller of Oregon; Margaret Hopkins Worrell and Katherine E. Smith of Ohio; Mrs. Shields and Elsie Ross Shields of Cuba; Mrs. Charles Fisher Taylor of North Carolina; Mary Moss Wellborn and Louise Wier of Mississippi; Fannie Wolfson of Louisiana; and Helena Hill Weed of Connecticut.

The Choice That Lay Before Us

By Gail Laughlin

AT THE conference of National and State officers, Founders, and Life Members of the National Woman's Party held after the interview with Mr. Hoover on September 12, the members of the conference voted to support the Republican candidates for President and Vice-President "for the reason that of all the candidates before the country, these are the only ones whose election offers any hope to the movement for Equal Rights between men and women."

The conference was under no delusion as to the situation. It did not claim any assurance of support of the Equal Rights Amendment by Mr. Hoover. At the interview he had stated his position as follows:

"I would go to any extent to remove restrictions on equality of opportunity, and I have asked some of my friends, qualified to penetrate the mazes of this problem, to make a thorough investigation to determine what the effect of this amendment would be. There are on the statute books of all the States much legislation designed primarily for the benefit of women and children. I hesitate to say without a thorough and exhaustive study that all of these statutes should be brushed

aside with one sweep of the hand.

"I want to be honest with you. I agree with you in principle, but I do not know anything more serious for any public man than to pledge himself to a change of the Constitution. I am not going to pledge myself until I have exhausted my information on that subject. If I find to my satisfaction that this amendment is necessary to obtain equality of opportunity, I will be with you."

This is far from satisfactory, but, as the resolution adopted states, it offers the only hope for our program in this election. Governor Smith has a long record of active championship of the doctrine of special restrictions upon the opportunities of women in industry and in business. It is a part of his philosophy of life that women are weak and must be protected against themselves. He has shown, during his eight years as Governor of New York, an utter imperviousness to all argument and all evidence showing the handicap which such restrictions place upon women. Even since his speech of acceptance, he has, through a chosen spokesman,

in a letter to the Woman's Party, reiterated his belief in the policy of restrictive legislation for women. Here, then, there is no hope. Governor Smith's election to the Presidency would mean active hostility from the White House toward the Equal Rights Amendment, nor does the Vice-Presidential nominee on the Democratic ticket offer any encouragement.

As for the Vice-Presidential nominee on the Republican ticket, Senator Charles Curtis, no member of the Woman's Party needs to be told of his position or his record. To him, more than to any other single member of Congress, is due the passage of the Suffrage Amendment. From the beginning he has been the sponsor and loyal supporter of the Equal Rights Amendment. A loyalty to him commensurate with his loyalty to our cause and our program demands our support of him.

Hope with the success of the Republican candidates for President and Vice-President, active hostility with the success of the Democratic candidates—that was the choice before the conference. It threw its choice for the course which offered hope.

International Feminism Over WEVD

RADIO fans who listen in over Station WEVD, New York, the Eugene V. Debs Memorial Station, are hearing much about Equal Rights between men and women these days.

Helen A. Archdale, international secretary of the Six Point Group of England, spoke on "International Feminism" over this station on September 4, and her daughter, Betty Archdale, youngest Feminist and internationalist speaking in the United States, made her radio debut on September 11 with a speech on "The Inter-American Commission of Women." Both Mrs. Archdale and Betty have been doing research work in the Inter-American Commission of Women in Washington this summer.

Mrs. Archdale is an authority on international Feminism, and has the advantage of being a forceful and sympathetic speaker. During the war she initiated a training scheme for women to replace men on the land. She also served on the Woman's Branch of the Ministry of National Service. She is a member of numerous Feminist organizations in Great Britain and elsewhere, and was editor of *Time and Tide*, Viscountess Rhondda's newspaper, from its beginning until recently.

After spending the summer in Washington, where she and her daughter have

been busy with legal research for the Inter-American Commission of Women, Mrs. Archdale will resume her interrupted world-tour in the interests of international Feminism.

Miss Archdale is only 20 years old, and is chairman of the Students' Committee on Nationality. She is a law student at McGill University, Montreal, Canada. She will support the Equal Rights Treaty at the Hague Conference on Codification of International Law next year.

Her Feministic enthusiasm can be gauged by the fact that she has devoted her summer holidays to legal research in its most arduous form for the Inter-American Commission of Women, visiting the embassies in Washington, endeavoring to obtain concrete information about the real status of women from the codes and constitutions of the Republics of this hemisphere. The energy with which she performed legal research in the stacks of the Congressional Library, until late every night, is amazing for one of her age.

Mrs. Archdale will speak once more over the radio before she sails on her tour of the world in the interests of Feminism. She will speak on "Equality in Industrial Legislation" over WEVD on Tuesday, September 25, at 10.05 P. M.

The text of her address on "International Feminism" follows:

SINCE the great war of 1914 to 1918 there has developed a tendency towards internationalism, away from nationalism. That great tragedy, while breaking the ties between some nations, undoubtedly drew others closer together, gave nations a sense of world kinship. Another factor fostering internationalism is the rapid progress made in quickening transport, when a voyage now takes as many days as it used to take months, when communications between nations can be established in less time than it used to take to write the letter, which would only reach its destination after many weeks or even months of travel. With such international contacts and interchanges of peoples and ideas has grown as rapidly the need for international legislation. Frontiers are becoming more imaginary and codification of law to avoid unnecessary trouble is being sought.

The women's movement has followed into this international field. With the wide facilities for interchange of experience has come to women the world over the realization that their aim is one and the same. Their methods may vary, their particular point aimed at on the way may be different: in one, equality of franchise; in another, equality of opportunity; but in all, each and every one, woman finds

woman marching to the same ultimate goal—equality.

The word equality, or perhaps one should say the use made of it or the meaning given to it, is frequently confused and it will be well to define the Feminist meaning.

By equality the Feminist means equality, without compromise, without deviation from the pure meaning of the word. She means, further, that this clear, undiluted, and uncontaminated equality shall apply to the adult man as to the adult woman, to the boy as to the girl; that right through life the principle of equality shall be observed; that no law, national or international, State or district, county or province; that no regulation, civic, public, or private, shall remain in force which discriminates against man as man, or against woman as woman; that all human beings according to their status, their age, their capabilities, shall be legislated for as human beings and not, as at present they are, as two sexes, the men having one set of laws, the women another.

We cannot tell whether women would be as anxious, as they undoubtedly now are, to change the laws which apply only to them if the existing laws made life easier for them. That we shall never know. But, as it is, all these laws, based on sex and applied only to woman, create hardship for her, and we cannot wonder that she is setting so vigorously to work altering and removing them. Whether they are laws making her and all her belongings and her children the absolute property of her husband; whether they are laws restricting her hours and complicating her conditions of labor; whether they are laws prohibiting her entry into fields of professional activity; whether they are laws forbidding her rise to the higher ranks of government service; whether they are laws denying her freedom of choice as to nationality; woman is determined to have no more of them.

The two great English speaking nations of Great Britain and the United States of America have both enfranchised their women with equality. This enfranchisement has been won after years of effort, struggle, militant action, and constitutional working. In many other countries, speaking many tongues, women are also enfranchised with equality; in others they are enfranchised on an unequal footing with men; in others, of which the most notable is the great country of France, they are voteless. It is, however, only a matter of time when it will be impossible to find a country where women do not have that elementary right of modern citizenship, the right to vote.

FAR more subtle than this open refusal of the vote, however, are the conditions of living imposed upon women. And where these used, in national codes, to

be only national in scope, they are rapidly and most dangerously being written into international codes.

Although you have in your United States Constitution:

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States. . . . No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States . . . nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

While the primary object of this amendment was to deal with colored races, it has been held "as not to be restricted to that purpose, but to relate also to discrimination in matters entirely outside of the political relations of the parties aggrieved."

A definition of the meaning of this amendment has been accepted as follows:

"When the State itself undertakes to deal with its citizens by legislation, it does so under certain limitations and it may not single out a class of citizens and subject that class to oppressive discrimination."

And again in the words of a Supreme Court decision:

"Though the law itself be fair on its face and impartial in appearance, yet, if it is applied and administered by public authority with an evil eye and an unequal mind, so as practically to make unjust and illegal discrimination between persons in similar circumstances, material to their rights, the denial of equal justice is still within prohibition of the Constitution."

Although the League of Nations has in its Covenant, Article 7:

"All positions under or in connection with the League including the Secretariat shall be open equally to men and women."

Although in the Peace Treaty, Article 427, the principle of equal pay for equal work is inscribed,—

Yet, your nation practices gross inequalities towards women. The League of Nations employs women, in any number, only in the lowest clerical grades, and practically bars the entry of women to its higher opportunities. The International Labor Organization pours out a stream of laws for international ratification discriminating with glaring inequality between men and women—internationalizing inequality.

I am not going to tell you of your own nation's failings in this respect. I am going, rather, to expose those of my own nation, but believe me in this matter of victimizing and handicapping women in competition with men, no nation is guiltless.

To take first the League of Nations,

its fair promise, its lamentable performance. While women may enter freely as stenographers and the lower clerical grades binding themselves for a seven-year term, one finds men entering all branches in assistant and junior administrative positions, an avenue leading to high and responsible promotion in both national and international politics. With this initial barring of the entrance we naturally find very few women at the top, in the higher ranks. A few there are who have arrived so far, but most of those who are higher up have been appointed, often only temporarily, to represent their Nation on some one particular occasion. The Assembly itself, up to 1926, had no woman delegate; there have been a few substitute delegates, a few technical advisors. Since the League's division into committees, six in number, the first committee has had one woman; the second has had two women; the third, none; the fourth, none; the fifth, the Humanitarian Committee which deals with the traffic in women and children, child welfare, and kindred subjects, has had four women; the sixth, none.

The International Labor Organization has restricted and limited the hours of work unequally, has retained and approved unequal pay for equal work.

My own country has passed a Sex Disqualification Removal Law, ostensibly removing sex disqualification, but provided with so many provisions as to retain instead of to remove. The sex disqualification holds still in the Diplomatic, Consular, and all defensive forces and in the House of Lords; women teachers are dismissed if they marry; many women doctors, even those in charge of maternity and child welfare centers, are dismissed if they marry; all women in the civil service must resign if they marry; the higher posts in the civil service are, by various devices, effectively closed to women.

SO national Feminism has had to become international Feminism. Like the rest of the world, it has had to cross frontiers, to co-operate in all countries.

The first international action taken by Feminists was at Havana in January this year at the Sixth Conference of Inter-American States. At the Fifth Conference of that body, held in 1923, there was placed on the agenda for 1928 "the civil and political rights of women." As the time for the 1928 or Sixth Conference approached, Feminists discovered that civil and political rights had dwindled to civil rights only. Further, the Feminist discovered that the item was mere eyewash and unlikely even to be mentioned during the 1928 Conference. This seemed an opportunity, and a group of international Feminists went to Havana. They were at first scoffed at—later listened to—later again given a hearing in the Conference itself. They took the opportunity

of presenting, for the first time in history, an Equal Rights Treaty. The treaty has been adopted by International Feminism and will be presented at all international gatherings of official standing and at other suitable international meetings, of whomever composed, wherever assembled. The effective clause runs as follows:

"The contracting States agree that upon the ratification of this Treaty men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the territory subject to their respective jurisdiction."

Although the Conference of Inter-American States rejected the Equal Rights Treaty, it did appoint an Inter-American Commission of Women, charged with the task of studying existing laws as they peculiarly affect women in the twenty-one Republics of the Pan-American Union, and to report to and recommend to the 1933 Conference how Equal Rights for men and women of the twenty-one Republics concerned may best be attained. This Commission is already well under way with this gigantic task, to be completed in 1933. The representative for the United States and also chairman of the Commission is Doris Stevens, chairman of the Council on International Action of the American National Woman's Party.

The next action of International Feminists occurred at Geneva in May this year at the conference of the International Labor Organization on minimum wages boards. Knowing that national opinion, largely composed of the industrial competitors of women, favored unequal pay for equal work and a lower

minimum wage for women than for men, Feminists sent a representative to the conference where a most useful discussion took place, a discussion which clearly exposed the reasons offered for retaining a lower minimum for women, reasons not at all creditable to their authors. The result of the Feminist action this time was a clause in the accepted covenant as follows:

"The General Conference of the International Labor Organization thinks it right to call the attention of governments to the principle affirmed in Article 427 of the Peace Treaty that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value."

A timely and much needed reminder.

Last week, when fifteen nations sent their representatives to Paris to sign the Kellogg Peace Pact, the Feminists were again there asking M. Briand and Mr. Kellogg to allow them ten minutes' hearing from the fifteen representatives in which to offer the Equal Rights Treaty. Unfortunately neither M. Briand nor Mr. Kellogg showed sufficient understanding to appreciate the opportunity, refused with scant courtesy, and when the Feminists took their stand at the gates of the palace, the French authorities made the old blunder of arresting them. While men of the nations signed peace inside, women of the nations were arrested outside. They broke no law, they broke no regulation; they reminded the world that there is yet no peace, no justice, for women; an awkward reminder amid the pomp and ceremony of the otherwise splendidly staged signing for peace.

Another big undertaking international Feminists are engaged in should bear fruit at the proposed Conference of Jurists for the Codification of International Law, to be held at the Hague. One of the three points on the agenda for this conference is nationality. The date is not yet settled, but while waiting, the International Feminists are making exhaustive research into the nationality laws of all countries. The Inter-American Commission of Women is compiling the nationality laws of the twenty-one Republics which it represents. The Harvard Law Research Committee has placed at their disposal Dr. Fleurnoy's comprehensive study, and the National Woman's Party has given its compilation. The International Alliance of Women and the International Council of Women are co-operating. The Feminist societies of Great Britain are already at work and by the time of the conference, whether in 1929 or in 1930, it is intended not only to present the views of women of all countries, but to have many actual representatives attending to offer in person a simple international nationality law based upon equality. The keynote of this law is to be, "Marriage shall not change nationality"; that is, that a woman shall no longer be obliged to take the nationality of her husband but shall be free, as are men, to choose nationality, subject only to the same laws and regulations, national and international, that control the choice of other citizens.

In the brief time allotted it is only possible to outline, but I hope I have done that with sufficient clearness to enable my listeners to visualize—International Feminism.

News from the Field

Colorado Women Protest

COLORADO women are protesting vigorously against the action of the American Automobile Association in barring women from participation in the annual race up Pike's Peak. One woman, "Miss Mystery" of Chicago, had been making the run in preparation for the race, when suddenly a telegram came from the American Automobile Association stating that women would not be permitted to enter the race.

Naturally, those feeling that this discrimination was wholly unwarranted turned to the National Woman's Party. Several women telephoned Lillian H. Kerr, vice-chairman of the Colorado State Branch of Woman's Party, offering their aid in formulating a formal protest.

In an interview published in the Colorado Springs Gazette on August 29, Mrs. Kerr said:

"The ruling is perfectly ridiculous. Women are participating in airplane races, horse races, and other kinds of

races, as well as in every kind of sport. Why, then, should they be barred from taking part in the Pike's Peak race? The ruling is one of the silliest of many silly discriminations made by men against women, and the American Automobile Association deserves to be sharply rebuked by all women's organizations. A formal protest should be entered by the National Woman's Party against this unjust treatment of women. I should like to ask the association why it assumes that women are less capable of driving an automobile up Pike's Peak than are members of the masculine sex. Women drive cars everywhere else."

The lone woman preparing to enter the race made the following statement:

"I never dreamed of such a thing! We women swim the English Channel, fly across the Atlantic, ride bucking horses in rodeos, win tennis championships, but we mustn't pilot a car up Pike's Peak. I think it's disgusting. And besides, it places me in a most absurd position. How

in the world was I to guess that the Pike's Peak race would turn out to be a matter of sex?"

The men racers were "unperturbed" by the ruling, the newspaper account said.

Mrs. Kerr spoke over radio Station KFUM on August 28, discussing the arrest of Doris Stevens and other Feminist leaders in France when they sought to present to the representatives of fifteen nations the Equal Rights Treaty.

Co-operation Among Women

THE woman of today is taking the second big stride in her emancipation by learning to co-operate with her own sex, according to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, president of the National Association of American Women Painters and Sculptors.

"I see evidence of this growth of co-operation among women at our headquarters," Miss Stanton declared. "There our members meet to work together, exchange criticisms, and plan group exhibitions. And through their shoulder-to-

shoulder efforts they are making our organization of national importance to the art progress of the country. The outstanding successes attained by individual women in different lines of endeavor provide a noteworthy example of progress. But the co-operative efforts of women toward group accomplishment is of vastly more importance.

"When women learn not to let the small issues block the vision of the big ones they will be more worthy than ever of the admiration of men."

Women Lawyers to Fly

BESSE MOTON GARNER, Detroit lawyer and a Founder of the National Woman's Party, writes that a group of women lawyers who are members of the Woman's Party are planning to come by

airplane to Washington to be admitted to practice before the Bar of the United States Supreme Court. Eddie Stinson will be their pilot. They will probably make the flight in October, just after the term of the Supreme Court begins.

Women Authors' Rights

WOMEN authors are seeking to break down the last barriers to their full participation in the rights and privileges of the Royal Literary Fund of England. Hope has been aroused that the influence of Stanley Baldwin, Britain's "Equal Rights for Women" Premier, who presided at the annual dinner of the historic society will give the cause impetus.

Although women are permitted to contribute to the fund and to receive assistance therefrom, it is only recently that

they have been invited to attend the dinner. Many are now members of the corporation, but no woman, no matter how distinguished, has ever been made president of the society or chairman of the dinner.

Equal Moral Standard in Japan

JAPANESE women are fighting for the principle of a single moral standard, and a ruling of the Supreme Court has been obtained to the effect that husbands are required to observe the same moral standard that they expect from their wives. Women workers have been successful in a strike for freedom to marry while employed, for better food at lower prices, for payment of half-day wages on national holidays, for bonuses for continuous service, and for other privileges not hitherto enjoyed.

Mrs. Meredith and Mrs. Jones

THE National Council of the National Woman's Party and the conference of National and State officers and Founders and Life Members both adopted at the meetings on September 11 and 12 the following resolution on the death of Sophie G. Meredith of Virginia:

"We, the members of the National Council of the National Woman's Party, are deeply moved by the death of our friend and co-worker, Sophie G. Meredith, who for years has been our State chairman for Virginia, and has proved herself an untiring, conscientious, and courageous worker for

the cause of the freedom of women."

Mrs. Meredith devoted her life to the service of others. While her most concentrated work was in the cause of women, she helped many others so quietly that she herself did not know the extent of her benefactions. By her death on August 27 the National Woman's Party loses one of its most efficient and faithful, generous and devoted officers and workers. She was a member of the National Council and chairman of the Virginia State Branch.

The conference expressed its appreciation of her and her work, that free gift of herself, her means, and her time, her faith-

fulness unto death, and her beautiful spirit of love and harmony.

The National Council also adopted the following resolution on the death of Katrine Heath Jones of Delaware, an appreciation of whom has already appeared in **EQUAL RIGHTS**:

"We, the members of the Council of the National Woman's Party, wish to record our deep sorrow and sense of loss in the death of Katrine Heath Jones of Delaware, who was one of the life members of our organization, as well as a generous and active worker in our cause."

Women Plenipotentiaries at the Hague

THE Inter-American Commission of Women announced on September 17 the receipt of a cable from Geneva from Doris Stevens, chairman of the Commission, stating that the First Commission of the League of Nations has voted in favor of providing for women plenipotentiaries to the World Conference on the Codification of International Law at the Hague in 1929.

The resolution calling for the inclusion of women plenipotentiaries was introduced by Dr. Orestes Ferrara, Cuban member of the Assembly of the League of Nations, at the request of the Inter-American Commission of Women, and was adopted by unanimous vote of the First Commission, to which the Assembly referred the question.

"This is indeed an epoch-making event," said Alice Paul, advisory chairman of the National Woman's Party, upon receipt of the news from Geneva. "Never, in all recorded history, have women been included on equal terms with men in an in-

ternational gathering of government plenipotentiaries called to draw up an agreement on international matters. The action of the First Commission of the League of Nations in providing for their inclusion as full voting plenipotentiaries in the coming World Conference is in accordance with the world-wide trend toward Equal Rights for men and women.

"We rejoice in this forward step of the League of Nations, and are particularly happy that our own continent, through the representative from Cuba, had the

honor of leading the gathering at Geneva to this practical support of the Equal Rights principle in international matters."

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